



A

REMONSTRANCE CONCERNING THE

PRESENT TROVBLES FROM

the meeting of the ESTATES of the

Kingdome of SCOTLAND,

Aprill 16. unto the Parlia-

ment of ENGLAND.



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H E N we look unto the Records of the ages past, to find out the greatest blessings that God hath bestowed on this I L E. wherein wee live, we cannot but acknowledge, that next to the Christian Faith, the Union of the two Kingdomes, under one Head, doth by many degrees exceed all other that fall in the reckoning. Many practises and policies were set a-foot by our Princes of old, to hasten this work: but all in vain did the plots of men strive to crosse or prevent the counsell of God, who had reserved for us and our fathers that singular happines, to see that Vnion begun neither by a breach of faith,

nor by bloud; but as the gift of God, to fall in our hands by the ordinary gate which the Princes right sets open unto all, and the generall and common interest of both Nations, did heartily receiue and embrace.. With what successe this Vnion hath begun and continued to this day, the peace and plenty wee haue enjoyed all this time, can witnesse in part, whiles all the rest of *Europe* almost, round about us, hath been a field of bloud and desolation. What apprehension the enemies of our Religion had at our peaceable conjunction, and with what eye of jealousy the neighbour States did look upon us, and envy our happiness, the Historie of these times can beare record: but for the present, in regard of what hath passed these many years bygone, and what we presently feel and fear, we may truely confesse to our own guilt and great dishonour, that neither *Scotland* nor *England* unto this day hath rightly understood or made use of this rare blessing of heaven, for increasing their respect abroad, or securing their own safetie at home; neither haue the reformed Churches found that comfort and relief which they did expect from us in the day of their distresse, but on the contrary wee haue been made, even against our wills, a broken reed, a rocke of offence, and a shipwrack unto all that haue sought unto us for shelter from the storme, and to our selues the one Nation against the other, a rod of correction and Jealousie, in the hands of a few wicked and ungodly men, men of separation, who divide the King from his people, and the people from their King; and who raise up brethren against brethren, that they in the end might prey and make havock of all. Amongst many that haue beene authors of these evils under
which

which the two Kingdomes haue for a long time groaned, and belike must either now or never be disburthened, none deserue so justly to bee challenged in the first place as some amongst you who call themselves Churchmen, but haue left their station to become ignorant and unhappy Statesmen, who haue made the Church and the Tenets thereof, an instrument of bondage to the subject, of libertie to themselves, and of unjust usurpation to the Prince, whom wee had reason to feare long agoe, by your example, and whom we find named as the chief instrument and object of your just feares of the change of Religion and government of Estate in the Kingdome of *England*, in that graue and solemne Remonstrance that was made not many yeares agoe, by the house of Commons to the Kings Majestic, if that had stopped them any way, your pulpits and pamphlets can beare witnes for them and the rest of their crue since that time, yea how constant they are to these wretched ends, their attempts upon us, and that deep plot of obtruding the seedes of all Popish superstition and tyrannie, upon our Kirk, in the bookes of Common Prayer, and Canons, will be a strong evidence for them how much they haue deserved of *Rome*, to make that Kirk which had departed farthest from her, to be first in the return, and exemplar unto others and how much more they may yet deserue of them, and all the enemies of those two Kingdomes, if they offer for a sacrifice in a bloudie Warre, the Religion and Liberties of both the Nations, to appease the furie of their present disappointment, and prevent the shame of their deserved fall.

Certainly the posterity will hardly beleeeue (as
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wee who have seen it cannot but wonder) how it hath come to passe, that the Subjects of *Scotland*, (whose Union with *England* this day is knowne to be of greater force, for her assurance at home, and strength abroad, than all the alliances, practises, policies, conquests your Princes have made from the beginning) should have so long petitioned their native Prince residing amongst you to do them Iustice, whereof he is debtor to his people, and to hear their just complaints against the usurpation of a few men, who were undermining the professed Religion and government of the State, and to suffer them to live according to their Lawes, and yet could never bee heard nor answered in the point of their just desires, far lesse will they guesse what hath been the ground of that merit and trust of one domineering Prelat in the affection of the Prince, that it should be more forcible to dissuade, than all the supplications and intercessions of so ancient and faithfull a Nation, who amongst all the Kingdomes of *Europe* have longest continued and maintained in one Line the honour of the Royall Crowne, together with the preservation of their own Liberties, should have power to moove. Truly for our selves when we call to mind what courage and constancie God hath given unto us since the beginning of these Troubles, to stand for the maintenance of our Religion and Liberties, that wee have not suffered our selves to be drawne headlong unto the servitude of souls and bodies, from which there had been no hope of Libertie for us or our posteritie, and which in regard of our conjunction with you under one King, had been a violent prejudice, and of dangerous consequence for your Liberties when they

they come to bee questioned in their own time and place, and on the other part when we remember what strange and violent wayes were taken by our adversaries to keep from the *English* nation the knowledge of our affaires, and what unjust and false aspersions were laid upon all our actions and intentions, to provoke you to be actors of that revenge that was determined against us by the insolent advice of such, who now governe his Majesties Counsels, and sett le their own ill acquired greatnes by the oppression of his obedient Subjects in their Religion and Liberties in both Kingdomes, we cannot but blesse God who armed us with an invincible patience and resolution to eschew for our part, to the uttermost of our power any Nationall breach: For yee may remember when contrary to our expectation, his Majesty by all the evil counsell of those men, did march towards us with an Armie, we neglected all courses which might advance our humane safetie, rather than start from any jot of our obedience, or give any seeming distaste to our dear brethren of *England*, and rather adventured the ruine of our own Contrey, than indangered theirs: Yea further, when we did with horreur and amazement hear those unexampled Proclamations given out against a whole Nation, who were never tainted with the least thought of disobedience to their Prince his just commands, according to the rule of their Lawes, Notwithstanding of this great provocation, there was nothing to be heard amongst us but vowes for his Majesties prosperitie, and hearty desires from all to spend their bloud for the encrease of his estate, and service of his Crown, and who abhorred than to be reduced to that extremitie, as to arme themselves
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for their own defence & preservation. It will scarcely be beleev'd by Strangers, by what means two Nations so near together, and so straitly tyed in all the bonds of goodwill and mutuall respect, where there was so little cause of espousing these quarrells, wherein none of the Nations were concerned or wronged by the other in their own proper rights, should bee brought to such a posture, and near so dangerous a rupture, that would not been easily (to say no more) peeced up again in our dayes, but it was the work of God, and it should be wonderfull in our eyes, who in the carriage of all this great busines, hath made every stopp and lett, casten in by the adversary, a step of advancement, to the furthering of his cause, as is well known and acknowledged by all whom GOD hath honoured to be the least instruments in this work, who also made this a singular meane to testifie our loyaltie, and the sinceritie of our hearts, where wee presented our humble and just desires unto his Majesty, and for the honour of the cause which wee maintain, and the tender regard to the credit of our own Prince (although then armed against his own people) and for the brotherly respect unto the Nobilitie, and others of our neighbour Nation, intending nothing, we beleeve, but to follow the King, although reallie satiffying the ambition and blood-thirsting revenge of a miserable Prelat. We laboured in the treatie to give all satisfaction on our part that could be required of most loyall Subjects, and sensible of our Kings honour (our enemies being judges) even to our own apparant disadvantage, for we delivered all places into his Majesties hands, which were desired, in testimonie of our obedience, and
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although they might haue been in our hands; pledges of assurance for performance of these articles that were agreed to be granted in the following Assembly, and Parliament; and now contrarie to our expectation are turned for engines of terror, and fetters of flaverie to frustrate us from obtayning the benefit of that capitulation. Notwithstanding of all breach of promise we cannot but prolesse according to our tender respect to our Prince, wherein we are inwardly grieved for the dishonour that is done to his Majesty by the bad instruments that are about him, that neither we were then over-reached, nor do we yet repent upon our part for that great trust and confidenc we reposed upon his Majesty, for we did then remember that we were dealing with our Prince, with whom as we should not strue for appurtenances, when the maine was granted, so we might rest assured, that if hee could not be brought in his owne minde to judge aright how farre he had been misled against us his owne people, who had given such an ample testimonie of our trust, and of the interest wee should haue in his favour aboue all other, but still continue to pursue any advantages to our prejudices: wee did not otherwise think but when ever he had a minde to breake, he could never want ill grounded pretences to alledge against us; and it was fittest for us rather to hazard the disadvantage, and commit the successe to God what ever prejudice wee should suffer; for if the word of a King which should be the oracle of truth to his people, and the faith of promises and contracts under hand and scale, which is the ground-work of trust in all humane society,

and is sacred and inviolable amongst Infidels and
 Turks, may not justly challenge for us the perfor-
 mance of the articles of the treatie upon his Maje-
 sties part, then may we truly think that nothing we
 could haue framed or desired than, would have been
 for our safety of any avail unto us, as nothing
 had done us good or succeeded according to our
 minde in all these things we haue condescended un-
 to (whereunto we were not oblidge by any duty
 or respect whatsoever, otherwise then that we might
 not be defrauded of the full and reall performance
 of the articles of agreement) but on the contrarie
 it doth evidently appeare by all that hath past, that
 there hath been no desire nor meaning of peace in
 the heartes and mindes of our aduersaries unto this
 day; for all the businesse of the capitulation hath
 been taken by them as a cloak to cover their more
 cunning and craftie designs, hoping thereby to
 weaken us in time by their wicked policie, whom
 they could not then overcome by open force: ma-
 king us a show to dissolue all forces on either side
 that they might lay the foundation of a more dure-
 able warre, by setting strong Garrisons on the Bor-
 der, receiuing the strong holds of the Kingdome
 to bee kept after that condition they were in be-
 fore these troubles began, and presently preparing
 them for nests of violence to the chiefe partes of
 the Kingdome: Calling forth by his Majesties let-
 ters a great number of our chiefe men under weak
 pretences of businesse (when all the matters of the
 treaty had been ended with a few of that number)
 unto Barwick, and when some of them came, keep-
 ing matters in the clouds untill the rest were come,
 and

and sending them back again like stales to bring in their fellows , and when this did not hold , laying than plots deep and a farre off to entrap some of our principall men , as God hath wonderfully discovered since , and will more and more to the confusion of these who have been authors and abettors to such base assassins. And which hath been the masterpiece of their subtile device : suffering the Assembly to go on and determine all matters of the Kirk that had been in question. The Commissioner in the Kings name consenting to all the acts that passed, promising also to ratifie them all in the Parliament that was presently to follow , plotting hereby that what they gave with the one hand , they would take away with the other , for this seeming of settling matters in the Assembly , and withholding the civill sanction of the Parliament for their being and existence in the Common-wealth , as it would make them reallie of no effect , so it did gain a colour and pretext to that designe they did most intend : that the next rupture, to which they were preparing , should not bee for matters of Religion which were all settled in the Assembly , as they did alledge , but for other civill differences in the Common-wealth , and truly in all appearance the matters of the Kirk were settled in that Assembly , with the consent of the Commissioner , but that wise men began to doubt of the sinceritie of the work , when they found him by his after-declarations and explanations digging a posterne to escape and make way , for his after denyall of what had been concluded. And in these tearms the Parliamant did begin , and hath continued not to settle the affairs of the Kirk as was promised , and

was certainly expected by us : but to bring in a precedent of servitude (which neither we nor our fathers were acquainted with) and so it hath been broken off and adjourned, by his Majesties own authoritie, without consent of the Estates, which is directly against the laws and practises of this Kingdome, and contrary to the articles of agreement : And although our predecessours took another course, yet we came onely with supplications and prayers, and to shew our invincible obedience unto his Majestie, sent up our Commissioners to *London*, who were rejected, and never seen nor heard, and yet hoping with this unexampled patience to overcome the malice of our adversaries, we send up again our Commissioners with propositions that were so just as that they contained nothing but what was before granted unto us, under his Majesties hand and seal, nor could receive any denyall from a pious and just Prince, as being all comprehended in this. And which had been the summe and subject of all our supplications, protestations, informations, declarations, from the beginning, namely, that the fundamentall laws of the Kingdome, which had been violated, and the Religion which was manifestly infringed, might in a free Assembly and Parliament be again confirmed, and the unworthy authours legally questioned, and which had been more expressly set down in the articles of pacification, that there according to the tenor of the articles of agreement, all matters civill were to be judged by Parliaments, and all Ecclesiasticall matters by the assemblies of the Kirk : And that as the Assembly promised by his Majestie had been granted and had concluded

cluded the differences of the Kirk , so his Majestie would not delay or deny the conclusion of the Parliament, for ratifying the acts of this Assembly , and settling other differences of the Common-wealth , as was fully agreed in that treatie at the Kings camp, yet these propositions and desires being so necessarie and vitall unto this Kingdome could finde no access unto the ears of the gracious King , by reason of the powerfull diversion of the Archbishop of *Canterburie*, and Deputie of *Ireland* , who (strengthened with the high and mightie faction of Papists near his Majestie) onely side in all matters of spirituall and temporall affairs , and makes the necessity of their service to his Majestie appear in being the onely fit instruments (under the pretext of vindicating his Majesties honour) to oppresse both the just liberties of his free Subjects , and the true reformed Religion in all his Kingdomes. In which devilish designe, we have great cause to say they are far advanced, if the granting of a free Assembly and Parliament to us at this time , which hath been the ground of all our just desires from the beginning , and the conclusion of the treatie this last year , as the onely mean to cure all the evils of Kirk and State , and settle the peace and welfare of both Kingdomes Prove in the end, as it appeareth this day , like the Councel of *Trent* to the Christian Kirk , which was appointed for reforming , the abuse there of , yet through the ambition and covetousnesse of Kirk-men , and the miserable jealousies of the Princes of the time , who minded more their private end and interest than the cause of Christ and his Kirk , was found in effect the active engine and instrument to establish the

and settle the

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the tyrannic of the Pope and his Clergie : wherefore the greater and more lively are our apprehensions of danger at this time , that all these crooked and crosse plots , interchecking one another , in denying a Parliament to us , where it was promised upon the honour of a King , and for the safetie of two such nations ; in granting it unto you , where it was not expected , for the reasons that all wise men cannot but remember , and inforcing one upon *Ireland* , where none is desired : Giving out commissions to destroy us before we can apprehend any other or new guiltinesse , but that we have been constant suters for the conclusion of the Parliament , and the fufilling of the articles of the treatie , raising our Parliament contrary to the laws , and the expresse articles of the agreement ; inforcing Garisons upon us , that they might force us to a necessary denyall of such unreasonable demands , and to a necessity to provide for our selves : that all these , we know , are done and devised to pick a quarrel , and to be the ground of a false and a wyre-drawn remonstrance against us , and now by the particular instigation of these men we named before , a mightie armie is preparing , and an utter ruine threatned to our Religion and countrey. Left in regard of these premisses , our silence in so necessary a time should argue a neglect of our duty to God and our King , the safety and honour of our Countrey , the peace and welfare of both the Nations , what so neerly trenches to the prejudice and hazard of all these , cannot be longer forborne : Therefore we professe before the Christian world , and to our brethren in *England* , especially the representative Body of the Kingdome , now happily convened

ned in both the Houses of Parliament, whom it most concernes, that wee cannot otherwise judge and esteem, but that all these Counsels that have been given of late by these intemperat Counsellors, who direct the course of all affaires, do not onely proceed from such persons as to serve their own ends under colour of advancing his Majesties prerogative, doe weaken Royall power, and bring the Kingdomes unto confusion, but that they truly are first hammered in *Spain* and in the *Conlave*, and put into the hand of their cunning artificans among you, who have ever been a viperous brood, which with tooth and naile, have assayed to rent the bowels of their own mother, yea who never sooner learned to obey the Roman Church as their mother, but assoone they acknowledged the Catholick King for their father, and their own King for an usurper, if they think him to be an Heretick: So that we are perswaded that neither the invincible Armado of the eighty eight, nor the Gun-powder plot, nor any other Royall Navie from thence, like unto that which came the other year upon your coast, (the which yee had the more reason to suspect that it came so unlooked for and at so unseasonable a time) needs to be attempted any more for the ruine of this Ile, but onely thit they be carefull (as we doubt not they are) that the fire of this civil warre which hath been so long smoaking may bee once kindled, and that they be ready under-hand to adde fewell to the flame, wherein they will not be wanting, especially where every thing is so near that can furnish matter, and all is far off that can help to extinguish the same, when it is once begunne, yea, which is worse for us all, when it is apparant, that it cannot be

be settled without great hazard even of them that may seem to overcome in the end : And although that we may iustly suspect that this calling of you together at this time by their suggestion, who have raised this fire of civil discord in this famous Isle without your consent or advice, bee rather to perswade you to bring oyle then water to quench the flame, so that in the heat of these broyles you may be induced to contribute to the overthrow of your best friends, while they avenge themselves of their enemies : Notwithstanding of this, we hope that it will not be displeasing unto all good men in these honourable assemblies of both houses, that we with great joy of heart and freedome of spirit professe and declare, as we do this day, that all our obligations and mutuall assurances of love and brotherly kindness are so nearly twisted and joyned together with you in all dueties toward God and man, Prince and people, that we cannot but have the same friends and foes, either in the defence of our common safety against forraigne foes, or in the maintenance of our severall rights against inward and homebred underminers who are more dangerous, except wee would depart from the onely firme rule of our own safety and preservation. And therefore since in regard of the situation of this whole Isle, and the Union under one Head, we are all, as it were, one house, if it fall we shall be all buried in the ruines, wee are all imbarqued in one ship, if it perish or split upon the rocks of division, hardly can we escape : Suffer us to rejoyce with you in the midst of this storme, for this first sunne-shine of comfort and good hope that we see you who are the true Pilots, brought to
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the helme : And give us leave to conjure you for the interest we have in the common adventure of these rich goods, our peace, our liberties, our Religion, which are all in one hold, that ye abandon not the ship of the Common-wealth in this tempest, although it did belong to you to have been called when the season was more calme, and yet let it be the true ground of your comfort and encouragment, that when the skie was clear, you have forewarned our great Master, of the clouds that were gathering, and although the wiades were invisible then to most, yet to many of your house of Commons, and others also of all ranks : they that did blow then to gather these clouds together, were well known, and from what coast they came, and many humble desires and earnest suites have been made by you to his gracious Majestie, that he would not abandon his own and the Kingdomes safety, unto the pleasure of men in a voyage full of dangerous and fearfull straits, in the conduct of which, they had nothing but their own ambition and privat gaine, for compasse and said. And who have thrust both Prince and people out of the safe harbour of the quiet calme unto this present storme, wherein they are to make profit of both our shipwrack, if in this strait it were not allowed to the meanest passenger to give warning of the imminent danger, we notwithstanding of our place and interest in your welfare might hold our peace : but since we have been in the first watch, and have endured the first and greatest torment of this storme, while you have been at rest ; for your assurance that wee cannot abandon you, or leave you alone on your turne, when you are so near to give tryall of your
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courage and skill ; you may perceiue by what hath passed, that no Assembly nor Parliament, no rotten cable , and slipping anchor of Articles and agreement, whereunto we had fastened our hopes, can be any road and harbour of safety unto us , so long as both our enemies sit at the helme and gouerne all courses that are to be followed amongst you. Therefore before we come to advise what are in our judgement the most fitting means for removing of the evils of us both, give us leave to touch in passing what wee apprehend have been the maine concurrent causes to bring you by degrees from that hight of happinesse, wherein sometime ye were glorious in the fight of *Europe* , to this gulf of miserie and abasement wherein ye have fallen , and drawne us by example and imitation , that in this sad representment , as in a dark shade , the glorious light of your appearing day may be more comfortable and refreshing unto us both, which is the heartie wish and assured hope of your dear brethren in *Scotland* , because of the sensible feeling of that great mercy of God upon themselves, who have been farther in the transgression , and at a lower ebbe in minde and spirit , then ye can well imagine before their troubles beganne ; therefore because our evils are not of yesterday , and could not have overflowed the face of this Isle on a sudden , let us search up unto the well head and period of time, where and when they began first to spring and arise, when we left to fear others by reason of our Union, then beganne wee to have need to look for evill from ourselves : the subtile enemies of this Isle knowing that what was not to bee attempted by open force, was to be undertaken and pursued by cunning and
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secret practises , took the advantage of the humour^s of men, following commonly the nature and the conditions of the times , did make the surfets and ease of peace more dangerous to the life of the Estate, then the straits and hazards of warre had been before , disposing the subjects to ease and flaverie , an inuring the Prince to follow their appetite and the rules of uncontrolled power: then beganne the publick wayes of honour and reputation to be unfrequented : then the use of Parliaments which is the stay and strength of your Kingdome to be suspected, and so these eyes and eares of the Prince and People , the great Councell of the Land did make way peece and peece to the dark passages of the corner of a Cabinet , where flatterie , malice , envy and partialitie amongst few hands , disguises with false appearances without controll all that comes in their handling , and makes the people miserable, and the Prince infortunat, since they have gotten footing , Parliaments have been called not to ease the grievances of the subject, but to supply the necessities of the Prince , and so whereas they should have helped to cure , they have increased the diseases of the Estate : and because there can be no evill humour in the body that can master your skill , if you please to apply fitting remedies , and what haue been formerly in practise , therefore you are made to disagree amongst your selves about the method of the cure , and when you begin to incline to an agreement your consultations are broken off , and so by these meanes the Common-wealth languisheth without hope of relief, the Princes mistakes , and the Peoples grief and burthens doe equally increase , and every breach of a Parliament begets a new grievance and

maladie to the people, so much the more dangerous and deadly, that the Authors of these abuses) when you use not your courage and constancie to maintain that power and place which your Predecessors have put in your hands, and whereof the posterity will call you to accompt, as a right of entaile and their proper inheritance which cannot be weakened in your hands without your eternall infamie, and their endlesse losse) beginne to despise you, and take courage to undermine and blow up the foundation of your once well settled Estate: bringing you in contempt with the people, for the guard of whose Liberties you have so long continued, and in hatred with the Prince, for whose honour and safety it hath alwayes been, that none about him should be more powerfull nor the Lawes, and nearer him in place and affection, then you whose Counsells could not be corrupted by ends: these are they who bringing you once to mind your own things, and to be carelesse of the publick, have taught the Princes, that all the rights and liberties of the Subject, and the maintaining of them, are doales of grace, and gifts of meere favour proceeding from the Prince, (and not the true birthright of the Subject, which they may truly challenge) which are to be continued or changed as their Princes shall think fit: who have taught Princes to use that maxime in a free Kingdome to wrong endes: Parliaments are in their power to beginne, continue, and break them off, as they find the fruit of them good or bad, so are they to have their being, or not to be at all, thus they have done what is in them to make the Royall authority, which should be like a Sunne beame shining for the comfort and light of others

thers, turne to a Comet and blazing star, a matter of wonder and admiration for the time ; and a prognostick of worse things to follow. Truly the prerogative of the Prince, which hath been kept in veneration, and as a secret untouched amongst the wisest Princes and the best times ; which is that which the Lawes have given him above all private men, for the common safetie of us all, and cannot be used to another end, but for our good, had not suffered so much in it self, and lost of its proper lustre, by the oft and common handling thereof, to the manifest prejudice of the Subjects right, and the reall weakening of the true Royall power, had it not falne in some of your Cleargies hand, who to the staine of the Kirk and the bane of the Common-wealth, have subjected all men, and all Lawes, to the appetite of the Prince, of whom they have the absolute rule, that so under that goodly visour of his Royall power, they may accomplish at last that great designe of the change of the Religion and government of the Estate which they have so long aimed at : whereof they cannot faile in this happie conjuncture, where all things promises them good successe. A Prince enraged against his own native people, by their procurement, who will not be perswaded that they are good Subjects to him, because they are avowed enemies to them, who have been the destroyers of their Religion, and the troublers of the peace of the Kirk, to whom it is necessary that he forget that he is their naturall Prince, while he remembers that hee is advanced to be the Monarch of the whole Isle, and with whom of necessity he is obliged to continue this quarrel, that under the pretext of their rebellion, he may have leisure to

arme, and make the one kingdome a scourge to the other, while in the end they both become slaves, which if they refuse, hee cannot eschew of force to bring in strangers, and use such other power as God hath put in his hands (by the doctrine of these good divines (to the establishing of the boundlesse government whereat they aime, so by the joint helpe of the Papist, who are a strong faction amongst you of late, and of others, whom they call good subjects, and are the greatest number, who while they are going on in any course to help themselves, cannot think they are accomptable to God or man for any wrong they are doing to others, these also concurring who are of great number and of no small force in any state, who are content to wear fetters themselves, so they may be of gold, and they have the making of them, or helpe thereunto for others, all these meeting together, they cannot misse to effectuat their designs, and these are they who look at this time to undoe us, and hope assuredly to work you to their ends. And for this effect, as it appeares, are ye called together after so many breaches and breaking up of Parliaments in *England*, whereby his Majestie had beene deprived of the faithfull counsels and free aides of his people heretofore, and the pressures and grievances of the Subjects daily more and more increased without hope of reliefe, that all men (who looked upon the traine of affaires, and marked what undue courses had been taken of late, that there should be no need of their meeting, and how the number and height of offenders is increased, for whose safety it is not that Parliaments come in place and request again) may justly marvell to see this day, and in all
likely-hood

likely-hod conjecture that either this Parliament will proue the happiest that ever was in this Isle for the good and peace of the Kingdomes, or else (which God forbid) will become the fatall engine and axle-tree in our enemies hand, for the overthrow of Kirk and State, turning our doubts unto despaire, and our feares into a certainty of confusion. Wherefore the more need haue all good men who loue the truth of Religion, the honour of the King, the safety of the Kingdomes in so necessary and perillous a time to be instant with God by fasting and prayer, that as the beginning of your meeting together is the subject of all mens feares and hopes, good or bad, so the close may be in fruit and memory, the joy of the present age, and the blessing of posteritie, whereof there is no small ground of hope at this time; for if that spirit of wisdom, courage, and true zeale for the good of Religion and safety of King and Kingdomes do but begin as in former time to appeare in your Counsels, who knoweth what recompence God is preparing for your often disappointments in that kinde: the which we are moved the rather to beleue and expect, that the powerfull hand of God hath forcibly led them who have beene the authors of your evils, and actours in the mischief intended against us; against their will to call for your assistance to oppresse us: and surely wee think that what Art can invent, and malice can do, wil not be wanting (even amongst some of your number) to moue the rest to consider aright of all the advantages of the time, and reconceal the differences that are amongst themselves and labour to seek the ease of your owne burthens when you may haue them at an easy
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rate with small expenſe and paines , to encrease our
 and many ſpecious pretences will be offered , to hide
 the bad intentions of a few , and the ill conſe-
 quences of theyr privat deſignes againſt the publick
 quiet of the Kingdomes , but certainly a thick cloud
 of prejudices and miſrepresentations of all our buſi-
 neſſes moſt aſſuredly be caſten before your eyes, and
 great muſt that darknes be, before ſo wiſe, ſo adviſed
 a Iudicatorie of all the choice wits in that Kingdome
 condeſcend to that reſolution which in effect carrieth
 with it, in furthering the overthrow of our Religion
 and Liberties , and in the buriall thereof to beginne
 and digg a tomb for your own to follow , and to
 make the end of this Parliament a meane that there
 ſhould never be need of any hereafter. But we ex-
 peſt (Right Honourable) better things of you, and
 ſuch as belong properly to the happineſſe of this
 time , for the glory of God in the advancement of
 his truth , for the honour of the King in puniſhing of
 the wicked , for the welfare of the Kingdomes , that
 in our Union they may be cruſhed , who in our divi-
 ſion have builded their hopes , and made this warre
 with your brethren , the Trojan horſe to bring in all
 theſe calamities , which a Civill warre will undoub-
 tedly inforce upon this Iſle, and we are certainly per-
 ſwaded that the ſingular wiſedome and juſtice of
 your Honourable Court , which can have no other
 end in all their Counſell, but the ſervice of his Maje-
 ſty, and the ſafety of his Kingdomes (which cannot
 be ſeparate in any conſideration whatſoever) will
 judge otherwiſe of the ſtate of our affairs , and affoord
 us better meaſure then we have found as yet at the
 hands of theſe men, who as they have beene the Au-
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thors of our evill ; and of that corruption that was creeping in, in Kirk and State, so have both you and we suffered much more by them , and have greater reason to complain of the inconvenience and mischief of the remedie that they have applyed since, then of the disease it self : In vain doe they think to cover their wicked designs with the bare pretext of their zeale and affection to his Majesties greatnes and dignity , seeing it tends to the ruine and destruction of his faithfull Subjects , whose riches is his tre sure, whose quiet is his glory , whose hearts and affections are his strong garisons that cannot be overcome , and whose prosperity is the happines of his Crown , and miserable and wretched are the effects of that power, which produceth nothing but weaknes to the Prince, and calamitie to his Subjects, and in vain do we expect that God will blesse in our age what he hath cursed in all ages before. Let us look unto the Records of former ages , and we shall ever find , that there is not any thing that doth so much move the wrath of God, as to see his worship and Churches profaned , and to fall into the hands of these who have sold themselves to the world, and are devoted to the Temporall service of the Prince : where ever it hath been practised , it is a certain demonstration of the alteration and change of an Estate , and of their miseries and disgrace who abuse it licentiously , their affaires alwayes declining even unto their end. We need not put you in mind of the sturres and hot contests of your best Princes , and of greatest spirit , with your Archbishops at home, to keep down that Papacie they claymed to themselves amongst you , and to suffer them to be Kings beside them , which could not be granted

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but at their discretion : they that lookt to the dangers of this time , and who they are that be the Authors of this mischief intended , may easily perceive , that if all the Subjects of the two Kingdomes could be moved to undergoe that burthen the Bishop of *Canterburie* and his followers would put upon us , and could be perswaded in conscience , that we were bound to obey these spiritual fathers in all their commands , we should soone see they would alledge some other ground for their aspiring greatnes , then the zeale of his Majesties service and honour , and the Princes that are to follow would find , that all their paines was for themselves , and to establish their own tyra-
Prince and People. Or , are there any so ignorant and wilfully blind to think , that all that spight and malice they carry to the Covenant of *Scotland* , is because that it hath weakened the Kings power , and made his Majestie appeare so in the sight of his enemies : If this were true , then would the Pope and the King of *Spaine* give many millions that the like were in *England* and *Ireland* : they need not dissemble , we know where it pricks them they see the hand of God in it against their unjust usurpation and worldly pomp , and they fear , that as they have found it a wall of brasse to the Subjects of *Scotland* against the fury of their malice , when they could have no protection , neither in their Laws nor in their Prince , in whose saving favour they may claim speciall interest , so it may prove by example dangerous to them elsewhere , and at once put an end to all these plots and designs they have to overthrow the reformed Religion : And this is the cause they charge it and us with many crimes , to plant the hatred of us and that cause in
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the hearts of others ; which is already ingraven in theirs , but we are assured the equitie , justice , and wisdom of your Court will be farre from thinking this a sufficient ground of quarrell betwixt the two Nations , because we demand to enjoy the benefit of our Laws , and the exercise of our Religion , if this bee a cause that any of your Nation should come to assaile us , or any part of the power of that Kingdome should be imployed to that use , you would not have taken it in ill part or think we have done you wrong , if the like course had been taken by us when there were any contests and dispute betwixt his Majestie and you in your Parliaments for the rights of the Subject : But as we have alwayes wished you good successe unto your Parliaments , so can we not think that the paines we have taken to maintaine our own rights , can be grievances unto you , or of evill example to weaken your estate , or move you to destroy us. Princes when they are misled by evill counsell , may easily begin warre at their pleasure , but since the Subjects bloud must determine the controversie , it were necessarie that they who have so great a part of the hazard , should also know their quarrel. And since civill warre and homebred division , as inward diseases are more hard to cure then these that are without , wee are tyed in all respects to seek to prevent them before they come. And whereas by all that hath passed , we may perceive that these who are chief actors in these troubles , seek by all means to have us engaged , the more should our care bee to preserve ourselves by their disappointment , and by a seasonable remedy , provide for the safetie of our selves and posteritie.

steritie. The readiest meane for the present that can come in our consideration in this , that as when the treatie of the Vnion was intended , but did not take effect , the two Parliaments did sit , and did appoint their Commissioners to treat thereanent (with expresse reservation of their own Lawes and Liberties) and to report their proceedings back againe to them that sent them , so now when the two Nations are ready to be plunged in a bloody warre , to the overthrow of the Liberties of both. Our soules desires, that his Majestie would be pleased to appoint the like or any other meane whereby the Parliaments may sit freely , and without feare of force , and by their Commissioners appoint time and place , where by their scanning the equitie or inquitie of our demands may be fully weighed , that we may no longer suffer by false and artificiall relations , but they bee noturly knowne as they are , and their fraud and hypocrisie discovered (if there be any) for wee shunne no tryall which is not inconsistent with a free and independent Kingdome , and which the Kingdome of *England* would choose in the like case of the quarreling of their Lawes and Liberties , the King being resident amongst us : for which end if his Majesties forces may be discharged , and his further Levies suspended, we will most gladly disband , and leave off any that we are preparing for our own necessary and just defence , which otherwise we cannot doe without our own apparant ruine , neither can the Parliament sit with any securitie in either Kingdome , if they see a sword drawne over their heads , and this we know th. Parliament of *England* in their wisedome will think very reasonable , and the least that can be granted,

ted, and will joyne with us in this petition for their own clearing before God and the world, that they haue not taken in hand to subdue us by armes, before they haue convinced us and made knowne to all true Christians and honest men, for what cause, and upon how great reason.

If this be denyed us , as what may we not expect in this kinde , but that the conduct of this affaire will be answerable to the first undertaking : And as this plot hath been set on foot for the benefit of strangers , so it will bee continued to the weakening of both the Kingdomes , the overthrow of our Religion , and civill liberties , to the uttermost of their power. So wee (that the close of this discourse may bring in a short view all that hath been touched before) cannot but beginne with this , that it is just with God to make us feeble the sad effects of civill discord , who haue not made the right use of our long enioyed peace , and that we suffer in the danger and hazard of the cure , who haue so long by our tollerance and permission strengthened that ill humour , which is now ready to master the life both of Kirk and State. You are called together who are the great Physicians of that State , it is not unfitting for the present occasion to put you in minde of an old tale that belongeth unto your Art : *Philotimus* a Physician in Greece , made this answer to one who offered his finger to dresse , by whose face , look and breath , he knew he had an impostume in his lungs , my friend (saith he) it is no fit time to busie your selfe about your nailes : The time was not long since when the greatest question was , whether the bill of tunnage and poundage , or the bill of the Subjects right

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should

should be first moved in your House; the times are far changed, the case much altered, before you iudge of any matters now, or condemne others; you cannot but looke whether your selues be free, and what right you have, for if the maintenance of our Religion, and the liberties of the Kingdome, bee a ground of a quarrell betwixt two Nations that are so nearly joyned, and if it bee judged so in that honourable Court, we cannot see how you can condemne us and acquit your selues; For if it was your glory to bee the faithfull guardians of the Subjects right, it cannot but blemish your reputation to be found now the overthrowers of your brethrens liberties. If all this motion of a warre with *Scotland* were truly perceived to be a conception of *Spain* or *Rome*, wee do not doubt but for your owne interest you would be careful to strangle this monster in the very first birth; but if you take it for a ready mean to ease your owne distressed estate, and that by wronging us you can better your condition. And although we know the conduct of your counsells had ever more honourable and honest grounds, yet let us take it as it may be propounded to you: can the benefit that is offered to you countervail your losse? Wee need not bring nearer, the example is but of yesterday, and cannot be out of your sight. All the Provinces and Princes of France, envyed the good estate of the Protestants, the priviledges of their chambers, and the benefit of the edicts they enjoyed, every one did outrunne another to contribute to their ruine, and to ender themselves by so doing, to these that had the managing of all these affaires; with what successe, they know this day, and all that lookes upon them, see

what defence they haue left themselves against the regiments of the guards. Wee writ not this as doubting your wisdom and circumspection in a businesse of this nature, that so neare concerns your selues, but since the malice of our aduersaries hath prevailed so farre upon our gracious King, that he forgets the affliction of his people, whiles he giues way vnto their endlesse malice, who seeks by all meanes to cut asunder that knot of our obedience, whereby wee are tyed in conscience of our duty to his Maiesty, to the obseruance of the laws: and which is the sure foundation of his Maiesties greatnesse, and the Vnion of the Kingdomes, and which hath holden fast against all the violence of time in so many ages past, and against the force of all aduersaries whatsoeuer to the Royall Crowne, the which the more wee labour to preserue, and fence the more they seeke to undoe, and to put in the place thereof a chaine of violence and force.

Wee beseech you therefore, right honourable and dear brethren, now conueened in both houses of Parliament, that according to your place and station, you will heare from our selues the true representation of our pressing grievances, and because a linke of that chaine cannot but approach you also, if it take hold on us: we intreat you to divert in time our gracious King from runing headlong unto these violent courses, which cannot but produce in the end lamentable effects both for Prince and people. And since wee haue iust cause of feare, that what hath beene begun without your consent, will also be followed contrary to your advise, although we think nothing more properly doth belong unto to the iustice of that high
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Court then to provide , that they who have been drawers of his Majestie to this action , so dangerous for himself , and so desperate for the Kingdomes should not passe away unquestioned and unpunished. And nothing could be further from our expectation then that the councel of *England* should conclude a warre against us , upon the relation of one man (brought upon the stage of purpose to act that malicious part) without your consent : whereby it is apparant , that these our adversaries have come to that hight of insolencie, to lett all the Subjects see that they have taken to themselves a libertie to throw down the laws of the kingdome , and laid a necessite upon us his Majesties own people, as if we were to choose their leasure and attend until they have power , and come and worke our overthrow by sea and land , and that without warning going before : So now we understand that a restraint is put upon our Comissioners, Some of them being put in the hands of Sheriffs, some of Justices of peace at London , Contrary to our expectation , for who expecting this would either have found or gone in that Commission Contrary to the Law of Nations , for we are two diverse Nations and Kingdomes , and they were sent from a Parliament promised and called by his Majestie , and warranted by his Majestie , to repaire to his presence, and to shew the reasons of our demands Contrary to the very foundation of our present Treatie, for a Committee was appointed legally by the authoritie of the Parliament , and necessarily , for keeping correspondence with our Commissioners, and to receive from them his Majesties answers (tha

(that we wonder any man should be so absurd as to suggest to his Majestie, that it is an unlawfull or presumptuous Committee, or that they have taken upon them the government of the Towne of *Edinburgh*) And that for a long time past, no word or writ cometh from them, and we are put out of hope to heare from them hereafter; That wee can neither know whether there was any want in their propositions and reasons, or whether there was any thing to bee supplied by us for a full satisfaction, and contrary to the deservings of our Commissioners: for nothing is pretended to have escaped them which might have deserved this captivitie: And as for the present condition of safetie of the Earle of *Southesk*, and Sir *Lewes Stewart* at *Edinburgh*, it can be no true ground thereof, his Majestie being fully informed by their own Letters, how that harmelesse accident of their surprizall came on a suddain by the unexpected folie and rashnesse of the Governour of the Castle, threatning presently upon their dispatch, to discharge all his Ordinance against the Town: And to ring (as he was pleased to speak) an uncouth peale of bells in their eares, and (we may truely add.) by their own precipitation, and too great haste to speed themselves to the Ports for escaping the common danger: The multitude not without their owne grounds, conceived that the arresting of them might be a defence to themselves, or at least a delay of the Governours furie. But no sooner were they arrested by the People, but they were rescued by order from the Magistrat, and courteously used by such of the Nobilitie and Gentry as were in the Town. Since that time no violence hath beene done against them.

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but they have of their own accord, and for their own safetie stayed in the Town, with such libertie as they think meet to use to repair to the streets, kirk gardens or whether they wil. And in what equitie can a particular tumult of some few Commons in one City, reflex upon the persons of the Commissioners sent from the whole Parliament of the whole Nation.

Put at the writing hereof we are advertised, that the matter draweth a greater deep, and that the Lord *Lowdown* is committ'd to the Towre, not upon the shallow pretext of safetie to any arrested heere, but upon his own guiltines, his hand and subscription being found at a Letter directed to the French King from certain Earles and Lords of *Scotland*, for imploring his assistance to their courses: This by our adversaries and such as had decreed our destruction before, is already exaggerat and raised to a mountaine, not onely to fall upon the Lord *Lowdown* and others whose hands are found in it, but that all former friends and all indifferent persons may stumble at our Cause, as hereby evidenced to be nothing lesse forsooth then Religion: But the Honourable Houses of Parliament, who are acquainted with the designs and malice of our enemies, & to whom our innocence in times past cannot altogether be unknowne, are more grave and wise then upon the hearing or seeing of such a Letter, to precipitate in judgment against us and our Nation, before we be heard. For their satisfaction, and for vindicating our selves, we are constrained against our hearts in this our Remonstrance to remember and represent the words of that unexampled Proclamation given at *York* April 25. 1639. otherwise never to have been relented, but buried in silence

silence, and in studied senselesnes, and which wee doe not attribute to the Majestie of our King, but to the base cruelty of our barbarous enemies. The words are thus :

Wee are forced to have recourse to a more sharp and quick way to cure their obstinancy and rebellion by the sword of iustice : And th refore in that case we doe proclaime all such as shall reject this our free and gracious pardon, & does not re'urne before the said eight daies, to that civill and duetiful obedience, to bee from thenceforth open Febels and Traitors to us, our Crown & dignitie, and declare all their lands and possessions, goods and geir to be so fitted to us, and our Crowne, and that wee shall dispose of the r lands, possessions, goods and geir, to our well dese'ving subjects, Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others who shall adhere to us, and obey our just commands. And to this purpose wee discharge all vassals and tennants to any rebels, from making payment to them of any of their rents, dueties, or casualties, and require them to keepe the same in their hands, the one halfe whereof shall bee kept for our use, the other halfe for themselves : promising also to the tennants of the said rebels, who shall leave their Masters, and assist us to the maintenance of our authority, good tearmes of yeares in the estates they possesse, with the dimunition of the third at least, if not more, of the dueties they pay, as wee shall find them to deserve by their good service and ready obedience to us : And to the vassals of such superiours as are rebels, that they shall become our immediat tennants and vassals, and hold their lands & possessions of us, and that for payment of the third part lesse duty then is contained in their present Chartes, and they presently pay to their superiour, providing they ad-

to us, and assist not their disloyall superiours, but leave them, and concurre with us for maintenance of our authority. And if the superiour be loyall, and the vassals and tennants refuse this our Grace & to adhere to us, or to concurre with the said superiour in our service, we declare it shall be lease me for the said superiour to expell the said vassals and tennants thus rebellious, forth of their lands and possessions. And what shall accresse to us by the forfeiture of their lands & possessions, we freely dispoone, and totally resigne it to the loyall superiour, promising to concurre and assist him for effectuating hereof. And further we discharge all debtours who are addebted summes of money to any of the said rebels, to make payment to them of the summes of money addebted to them, or any part thereof: assuring our good subiects, that they shall haue retribution out of the same moneyes as wee shall find them to deserve: and so forth as followeth.

Although before this time wee had heard from our Countrey-men abroad, that other States, Princes and Nations did wonder much what their ears being filled with informations against us, nothing had come from us to make known unto them our cause, or our case and condition: yet still hoping & patiently waiting for a gracious answer to our many humble supplications, we did abstaine. But our hopes being extinguished by that unexpected declaration, as we took our swords in our hands at home for our just defence, so we were thinking to send some informations and petitions abroad, especially to the french King, wherein, we trust, no word hath escaped us, that can either procure the indignation of our own King, or will be found contrary to the

to the duety and loyaltie of good Subjects. And that no lesse could have been said by any Nation, in so great extreamitie : yet this was but an imperfect motion, which died in the bud amongst our selves, and never did rise to that ripenesse to be seen of others. When we were so sore threatned, and when execution was comming upon us by a terrible armie, it must be laid to our charge as a fault inexpressible, and our Commissioners punished for it, that wee dared so much as to intend to cry to others to interceed for us, when our own supplications could not be heard : Poore souls, we must be beaten, and neither resist, nor complaine : It is therefore our earnest desire that every eye that seeth that innocent Letter, may with the same view look upon the Proclamation given out at that time, and compare them together : And withall, wee desire to bee informed what we shall do in the like exigence now when armies are coming against us, if it be not lawfull for us both to cry to God and to men to help us, and to interceed with our King for us. That Letter was written before his Majesties coming to the Camp, and was not concealed by our Noblemen, but made knowne to some of prime qualitie there : If there had been a purpose in the hearts of our enemies, that the articles of pacification should have been observed, this Letter, although it had been sent and all other quarrels of this kinde, had been by a law of oblivion forbidden to appear. It could not have been a ground of calling the subscribers to quarrell them after the pacification, but the wicked Syco-phant and delatour would have been found in the transgression, and made the sacrifice. And that there

be no more doubt in the minde of any good man, we have here, upon our faith and honour set down the very words of our iustructions subscribed at that time, and yet extant, which were not given, but were to be given to the carrier, and unto the which the Letter itself doth referre:

To represent the auncient, and strait league betwixt the two Kingdomes of France, and Scotland, often renewed, and ever inviolably kept, for many hundreth of yeares, whereby both Nations, haue frequently upon the distresse of the one found the benefit of that mutuall amitie. by readie succour and assistance of the other, which hath ever been crowned with succeſſe, and acknowledged by interchange of Nationall kindneſſe as the Chronicles of both Kingdomes, & diuerſe publick acts extant in the Records doe teſtifie.

To ſhew that our intentions are no wayes againſt Monarchiall government, but that we are moſt loyally diſpoſed toward our ſacred Soveraigne, whoſe perſon and authority we will maintaine with our lives and fortunes. But that al our deſires reaches no further then the preſervation of our Religion, and Liberty of Church and Kingdomes eſtabliſhed by the Lawes and Conſtitutions thereof.

That the calumnies vented againſt us by our enemies for their owne ends make no impreſſion, becauſe they are moſt manifeſt untruthes, maliciously forged to ſtirre the envy and diſcontentment of neighbour Princes, Eſtates & nations againſt us: wheras our whole thoughts, words actions & proceedings are moſt leall & loyall, as the beaier can particularly inſtruct & make clear at length.

That ſeeing wee haue many times ſupplieat his Maieſtie, & haue not prevailed, therefore to intreat the King of France, to intercede and mediate with our Soveraigne

veraigne, to lay downe his Armies, intended and raised against us, and to suffer this his ancient and native Kingdome to enjoy her Religion, and Liberties, in peace and freedome under his Majesties authority, albeit we be not diffident of Gods assistance, where sever wee shall be necessitate to our own defence, which is approven both by the Law of God, Nature, and Nations.

Our enemies, who catch all pretexts against us, may have enough heere wherewith to please themselves. But when that grave and great Councell shall consider that the Letter was never sent, and nothing from *France* or at home shall ever be found that can prove the sending of it abroad, that it was intended upon the hearing of so harsh a Proclamation, and before the pacification, where in it ought to have been buried, and that it was accompanied with such Instructions, as none but malice it self can censure: for no threats from *England*, nor preparations in view, can cast us upon resolutions of intertaining forraigne confederations, in such sort as may set up a partition wall betwixt the two Kingdomes; Therefore wee trust they shall finde no more ground of pleasing our enemies, and of greiving us in this, ~~then~~ in our other proceedings, which wee earnestly desire to be unpartially examined by them.

Now against this high and extreame insolencie of our adversaries, which swelleth every day to a greater bignesse and exulceration, and is to break out imperously at their pleasure. Although in obedience to the Law of G O D and nature, wee be thinking upon our preparations for safety and defence, and for obtaining our often presented humble and just desires, yet nothing but extreame

treame necessitie which hath no Law, shall enforce
 to go beyond the bounds of petition and defence, and
 when that extremitie shall come, (which God by
 his mercie to both Kingdomes prevent) we trust our
 cariage shall refute the slanders and reproaches of
 our enemies: that we are not seeking our selves and
 our own ends: but with the assistance of all in Eng-
land, who tender their own happines and ours, we
 petition his Majestie the more powerfully, for recei-
 ving right information, and for submitting both
 differences, and all those wicked counsellors, who
 have shaken the foundations of the Kirk, State, and
 the Kings Throne, unto the judgment and censure of
 a free Parliament, by which we hope the Gospell of
 Christ shall be enlarged, both the Kingdomes freed
 from danger, and our dread Sovereigne made more
 great and glorious, then any of his Predecessors
 which, as it is the end, so it is the unfeigned prayer
 of us all.

F I N I S.